

Message Text

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TO ALL NATO CAPITALS IMMEDIATE

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HOLD FOR OPENING OF BUSINESS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, NAC

SUBJECT: ALLIED REACTIONS TO US NATO SUMMIT PROPOSALS

REFS: (A) STATE 086299, DTG 162054Z APR 77

(B) STATE 086300, DTG 162055Z APR 77

1. REACTIONS HAVE NOW BEEN RECEIVED FROM MOST ALLIES TO
PRELIMINARY US THINKING REGARDING THE NATO SUMMIT AND IDEAS
WE MIGHT ADVANCE IN LONDON. COMMENTS ARE STRONGLY POSITIVE,
FOR THE MOST PART, AND A NUMBER OF THEMES HAVE BEEN SUG-
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GESTED WHICH WE ARE CONSIDERING. POSTS, EXCEPT THOSE WE
HAVE NOT YET HEARD FROM (PORTUGAL, TURKEY, ICE-
LAND), SHOULD EXPRESS OUR APPRECIATION FOR THE PROMPTNESS
AND THOROUGHNESS OF THE RESPONSES. ALLIED CANDOR AND
THOUGHTFULNESS WILL CONTRIBUTE SIGNIFICANTLY TO SHAPING US
POSITION AT THE SUMMIT, WHERE WE LOOK FORWARD TO A BUSINESS-
LIKE AND PRODUCTIVE SESSION. MOST RESPONSES APPEAR TO HAVE

RECEIVED HIGH LEVEL ATTENTION, AND IN THE CASE OF LUXEMBOURG APPEAR TO HAVE COME DIRECTLY FROM THE PRIME MINISTER. SEVERAL ALLIES NOTED THAT THEY HAD CONSULTED INFORMALLY AMONG THEMSELVES, BUT THERE WAS NEVERTHELESS A RANGE OF VIEWS AND NUANCE.

2. BASIC THEMES: ALL ALLIES EXPRESSED APPRECIATION THAT

THE US WAS UNDERTAKING TO CONSULT PRIOR TO THE COMPLETION OF THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH. THEY GENERALLY WELCOMED THE BROAD THEMES, INCLUDING EMPHASIS ON US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS, COMMITMENT TO NATO, REAFFIRMATION OF ALLIANCE STRATEGY, AND SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN UNITY. POSITIVE US ATTITUDE TOWARD EUROPEAN UNITY EVOKED GREATEST INTEREST, WITH ALL EXCEPT NORWAY EXPLICITLY WELCOMING SUPPORT FOR THE EC. FRANCE, IN APPROVING AN APPROACH, NOTED POINTEDLY THAT EUROPEAN UNITY HAD NOT BEEN MENTIONED BY THE US AT THE 1975 NATO SUMMIT. LUXEMBOURG SUGGESTED IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO REFER TO POSSIBILITY OF GEOGRAPHIC EXPANSION OF THE EC AS A STABILIZING INFLUENCE IN EUROPE. ALLIES WELCOMED DISCUSSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, INCLUDING THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA, ALTHOUGH FRANCE MADE USUAL CAVEAT ON LIMITS OF THE NATO TREATY AREA. NORWAY AND THE NETHERLANDS INDICATED A DESIRE TO SEE ECONOMIC AND NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES DISCUSSED BRIEFLY, AND MAY THEMSELVES RAISE THEM. ITALY URGED MORE DISCUSSION OF STRATEGIC AFFAIRS AND ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS.

3. DEFENSE IMPROVEMENTS: PROPOSAL FOR DEVELOPMENT BY
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DEFENSE MINISTERS OF A COMPREHENSIVE LONG-TERM PROGRAM TO ADAPT ALLIANCE FORCES TO THE NEEDS OF THE 1980'S WAS WELCOMED, AND THERE WAS WIDE AGREEMENT THAT NATO NEEDS TO IMPROVE USE OF EXISTING RESOURCES TO MEET FUTURE DEFENSE NEEDS. UK NOTED THEY ARE DEVELOPING A PROPOSAL FOR CONSIDERATION OF NEW TECHNOLOGY IN THE ALLIANCE, WHICH MIGHT FIT INTO FRAMEWORK OF REVIEW IN SOME WAY. FRG WAS ANXIOUS THAT REVIEW LEAD TO PROGRAMMATIC ACTION AND NOT CONCERN ITSELF ONLY WITH THEORY. FRANCE DID NOT COMMENT, SINCE IT IS NOT IN THE INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE. HOWEVER, ITALY, IN ITSELF WELCOMING THE PROPOSAL, STATED ITS BELIEF THAT A WAY SHOULD BE SOUGHT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PROGRAM TO ATTAIN GREATER FRENCH INVOLVEMENT, OR AT LEAST TO INSURE THAT FRANCE WAS NOT ISOLATED. CANADA, WHILE WELCOMING THE US INTENT TO SPEAK TO THE QUESTION OF DEFENSE EFFICIENCY AND COOPERATION, SAID THEY WOULD PREFER THAT WE NOT MAKE A SPECIFIC CALL FOR A REVIEW AT THE SUMMIT, BUT LEAVE THIS TO THE SUBSEQUENT DPC MEETING IN BRUSSELS. SEVERAL MAJOR ALLIES DID NOT COMMENT ON

THE NOTION THAT NATO NEEDED TO LOOK AT ITS DEFENSE PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTING PROCESSES, BUT NONE OBJECTED. ITALY GAVE A SURPRISINGLY STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE IDEA, WHILE NOTING THAT IT WOULD REQUIRE DETAILED WORK IN THE DPC AFTER THE MINISTERIAL. DENMARK, NORWAY, AND THE NETHERLANDS ALL SPOKE OF THE NEED TO IMPROVE THE PRESENT SYSTEM.

4. DEFENSE EQUIPMENT: ALL ALLIES AGREED THAT THIS WAS A CENTRAL PROBLEM, AND WELCOMED THE US INTENTION TO SPEAK TO IT. THE US EMPHASIS ON THE TWO-WAY STREET WAS APPRECIATED. THERE WAS, GENERALLY, THE NOTION THAT THE EPG WOULD BE THE APPROPRIATE EUROPEAN PARTNER FOR AN EVENTUAL DIALOGUE ON EQUIPMENT R AND D, PRODUCTION, AND PROCUREMENT. (ALTHOUGH THE UK SAID WE SHOULD CHECK WITH THE FRENCH ON ANY REFERENCE TO THE EPG.) THERE WAS, HOWEVER, A RANGE OF OPINION ON WHETHER OR NOT A DIALOGUE

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WITH EPG COULD BE ORGANIZED AT THE PRESENT TIME. THE UK, JUDGED THAT THE EPG WAS NOT READY, NOTING THAT THEY WERE CONTINUING TO TRY TO OVERCOME FRENCH RELUCTANCE. FRANCE SAID THAT THE EPG STILL NEEDED STRENGTHENING, AND THAT A DIALOGUE NOW ON THE BASIS OF PARITY WOULD RISK DESTROYING THE EPG, ALTHOUGH THEY LEFT THE DOOR OPEN TO LATER DIALOGUE WITH EPG. ITALY, ON THE OTHER HAND, WHILE RECOGNIZING THE FRENCH ATTITUDE, EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT A PRELIMINARY IEPG-NORTH AMERICAN MEETING COULD BE LAUNCHED FOLLOWING

THE SUMMIT. THE FRG WELCOMED THE IDEA OF A DIALOGUE UTILIZING THE EPG AS DID THE SMALLER ALLIES IN PRINCIPLE. WITH REGARD TO THE POSSIBILITY THAT A DIALOGUE MIGHT RESULT IN THE CREATION OF AN INDEPENDENT INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY PANEL, THE UNANIMOUS REACTION, ACCEPT FOR FRG, WAS THAT CONSIDERATION OF EQUIPMENT QUESTIONS SHOULD REMAIN THE PROVINCE OF INSTRUCTED NATIONAL OFFICIALS. THERE WAS A GENERAL FEELING THAT NEW ORGANS WERE NOT NEEDED, SEVERAL ARGUING THAT THE DIFFICULTIES IN THIS AREA RELATED MORE TO POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING IN INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES THAN TO ANY WEAKNESSES IN INTERNATIONAL MACHINERY. AT THE SAME TIME, THERE WAS A WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER IMPROVEMENTS IN MACHINERY, WITHIN THE EXISTING NATO FRAMEWORK. FRG EVIDENCED INTEREST IN EXPLORING ADVISORY PANEL NOTION, CITING PROS AND CONS. THE UK SUGGESTED THAT, AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE NOTION OF A PANEL, WE MIGHT PURSUE MORE VIGOROUSLY THE REFORM OF THE COMPLICATED STRUCTURE OF BODIES WHICH SUPPORTS THE WORK OF THE CNADS.

5. EAST-WEST STUDY: THERE WAS BROAD INTEREST IN A STUDY

OF TRENDS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EAST EUROPE, IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE. FRANCE THOUGHT THE STUDY WAS APPROPRIATE, NOTING THAT THEY HAD SUGGESTED A STUDY OF CONDITIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE; FRANCE NOTED, HOWEVER, THEIR DESIRE TO AVOID A BLOC-TO-BLOC SITU-
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ATION WHERE THE NATO COUNTRIES WOULD DEVELOP A COMMON ALLIANCE POLICY TOWARDS THE EAST. THE FRG STRONGLY FAVORED THE STUDY, BUT SUGGESTED THAT IT NOT BE MENTIONED PUBLICLY, SINCE THIS COULD ATTRACT ATTENTION AND FORCE NATO TO GIVE OUT POSSIBLE CONTROVERSIAL STUDY. ITALY, ALSO FAVORED THE STUDY BUT QUESTIONED WHETHER ITS FINAL RESULTS SHOULD BE PUBLICIZED, AS THE US HAD SUGGESTED, SINCE, IN SUCH A CASE, THE RESULTS MIGHT HAVE TO BE BLAND OR LIMITED IN SCOPE. NORWAY WAS SIMILARLY CONCERNED THAT THE STUDY NOT BE GIVEN PUBLICITY. ALLIES GENERALLY THOUGHT THAT THE EAST-WEST STUDY COULD BE DONE THROUGH EXISTING NATO MECHANISMS. MOREOVER, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE NETHERLANDS AND LUXEMBOURG, THEY DID NOT FAVOR THE CREATION OF A PERMANENT STUDY GROUP ATTACHED TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S OFFICE, WHICH MIGHT HAVE ASSISTED ON THE EAST-WEST STUDY AND BEEN AVAILABLE FOR FUTURE WORK. SEVERAL AGREED THAT THERE WAS A NEED FOR IMPROVED ANALYTICAL CAPABILITY IN BRUSSELS, BUT FELT THAT THIS COULD BEST BE ACCOMPLISHED BY UPGRADING THE PERSONNEL OF EXISTING BODIES, RATHER THAN CREATING NEW ONES. AS AN INTERMEDIATE STEP, DENMARK THOUGHT THAT NATO MIGHT COMMISSION STUDIES BY PRIVATE RESEARCH INSTITUTES.

(NETHERLANDS ARGUED THAT NEW STAFF COULD SERVE A USEFUL FUNCTION AS A STIMULUS AND LINK BETWEEN NATO AND NATIONAL PLANNING STAFFS. LUXEMBOURG FELT THE STAFF WOULD HELP AVOID THE REDUCTION OF NATO PAPERS TO THE LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR, WHICH RESULTS FROM PRESENT PROCEDURES.)

6. NATO CONSULTATIONS: SEVERAL ALLIES, PARTICULARLY THE SMALLER ONES, IN EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR CONSULTATION ON SUMMIT, NOTED FEELING THAT CONSULTATION PROCESS IN NATO HAD WANED IN RECENT YEARS, AND SATISFACITON THAT NEW US ADMINISTRATION APPEARED DETERMINED TO CORRECT TREND. VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE'S VISIT, AND DISCUSSIONS IN BRUSSELS BEFORE AND AFTER SECRETARY VANCE'S MOSCOW TRIP WERE CITED AS EVIDENCE
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OF A NEW US ATTITUDE. SEVERAL ALSO DISCUSSED RELATION-

SHIP THEY SAW BETWEEN EC CONSULTATION AND NATO, STRESSING
VIEW THAT THERE WAS NOT ONLY NO CONTRADICTION BUT THAT
INDEED STRENGTHENED NATO CONSULTATIONS WERE REQUIRED
COMPLEMENT TO THE DEVELOPING EC CONSULTATION PROCESS.

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